2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

This is an example of the economy of abundance. The land was all subject to drought and the fields were tiny but there was enough for every one, either at the wash in question or at another. The peaceable acceptance of this fact is in sharp contrast to the attitude of the neighboring Mohave in the Colorado bottom. There the land was rich but it was limited and boundary disputes were so frequent that a special form of fight was developed to settle them.[1] 423

With the fields marked out, each family had the duty of clearing the land and perhaps digging a ditch which would bring the water to a point where it would flood the area. This meant labor and when such labor ceased, the governor might allow another family to use the land, but they must relinquish the right, if any of the original family even the most distant relatives, came back and asked for it. [312]

There were certain duties which the family owed to the village, as a form of tax. It must join with the others in digging a reservoir to catch rain water for drinking purposes since the water of the wash was too muddy and intermittent. Also, if the plain was such that the flood water was not distributed well, it might be necessary to build a short main ditch. Both ditch and reservoir must be cleaned every year and sometimes there were subsidiary ditches though never a real irrigating system. The decision as to cleaning was taken up in council and every man was bound to help. 423 651 312

During the father's lifetime his sons worked the land under his direction and after his death they might continue to do so for a while. (I, 1, A, B, C, D, E; I, 6, A, B, C, D; I, 5, A, B, C). Ultimately, as their families grew, they divided the land between them but with very little formality. Sometimes two sons kept their land together (I, 5, A, C) sometimes one was a hunter and got the family meat while his brothers did the farming (I, 8, E). If more land was needed, one of the sons asked permission of the council and broke land at a distance, his brothers helping him in the work (I, 8, B). 423

Daughters were expected to marry into another village and share their husbands' land. Until they did so, their living was provided in the family group and they were sheltered in the house of any brother who had room. If they returned after divorce or widowhood, they were treated in the same way. There is one instance of an unmarried woman being given land by her brothers but in that case, she was apparently about to marry and the land was given to her husband as a member of the group. (I, 3, C, 2). In another case, a widow with a grown son had land which we may consider as given to the son on the same system (I, 1, A, 3). A woman, in fact, was 423 591

[1] Kroeber, 1925, p. 744.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

423 591 not considered a member of the farm group, since she had other duties and land assigned to her immediate family was really assigned to the man who supported her.

There are a number of cases of matrilineal residence which are explained in the above way. When a married woman brought her husband to live in the family group with her brothers, informants never took it for granted but gave one of four reasons:

1. There were no sons, or not enough and the daughter's husband was needed to work on the land. (I, 2, B, 1; I, 2, F, 1; I, 2, I, 1; I, 7, A, 1).

2. The daughter's husband had no land so came to share that of his wife's family. (I, 6, C, 1). (The husband in this case was obviously a poor match and his labor must have been needed to make the arrangement desirable.)

3. The daughter's husband had land but, his relatives being all dead, he did not wish to stay there. (I, 2, F, 4; I, 2, F, 5; I, 2, F, 6; I, 2, H, 1; I, 3, D, 5).

4. The daughter's family were breaking out new land and her husband joined them as one of the group of settlers, sometimes keeping his home field as well. (1, 3, B, 19; I, 3, B, 1; I, 8, A, 1; I, 3, C, 1; I, 3, D, 1; I, 8, A, 1; I, 8, F, 1).

When the daughter's husband entered the group in this way, he was placed on a par with the sons, one of the indications that affinal relatives were treated like blood relatives when geographic nearness permitted. The land was assigned to the husband, not to the wife, and if she died and he married again, its use went to his descendants This is just what would have happened if the family had called in a distant relative on their own side to make use of their land-right.

Such relatives were, in fact, called in or invited themselves for the same reasons as applied to the daughter's husband. I, 1, F, 1 used the land of his father's younger brother's grandchildren and I, 6, D, 1 that of his younger sister's daughter's husband. On this basis it would have been logical for the family occasionally to turn land over to friends or share-croppers but there is no record that commercial procedure progressed so far. Land was connected with the family and not with trade.

423 Ultimately, the field became inadequate and the group must get new land. If the settlement were still small, the digging of a ditch further down the wash would make a sufficient plot available. Permission was asked of the Council so as not to interfere with the rights of others and then all the family united in digging and clearing, as compensation to the migrating members for giving up their claims. There is record of one brother who did his own

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

MARRIAGE AND SEX BEHAVIOR

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Polygynous marriage was approved but not practised by every one. Old men, particularly the shaman and the Keeper of the Meeting, often had four wives but most had two. Very young men had only one.

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The sororate was in full force. If a man had married one daughter in a family, it was expected as a matter of course, that he would take all the others as they matured, even while the first wife was living. The junior levirate is a vague tradition. It was "a good thing" if a man's younger brother married his widow but it was not required. Some informants had not even heard of the tradition.

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Marriage was arranged by the bride's parents. They saw that their daughter's breasts were large and they said, "They should be used for something." This might be immediately after puberty. It was felt that marriage should synchronize with the awakening of sex interest and some informants even quote twelve as a marriageable age for a girl. (1) The husband, if this were his first marriage, might be sixteen or seventeen. He and his young bride were by no means considered adults but lived with the groom's parents in a state of tutelage until they had several children. [591]

The choosing of a mate for the first daughter in the family was subject to certain rules. There were no clan or moiety restrictions, but the youth should not be a relative, that is, a lineal descendant of any one of the bride's great grandparents. Also he should be from another village. This latter was a social rule but not enforced by supernatural punishments as was exogamy among relatives. If the girl's father had been wounded by an Apache, she should marry the son of a man so wounded, since it produced a form of family taint that must not be spread.

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Having decided on a mate, the girl's parents consulted the adult relatives of the father's lineage and of the mother's. All gave their opinion as to whether the youth was industrious and a good runner and if they decided that he was eligible, the girl's parents called on his parents with the proposal: "We have an industrious daughter. We offer her to your son."

The boy's parents, if they objected to the girl, would take care not to be at home for to refuse would be an insult. But if the boy were already affianced, it was proper to say: "He has already been given a girl." Otherwise they replied: "We think as you do." A

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Your wife has not known men. Do not frighten her. If she runs away from you, do not follow her. Wait for her mother to deal with her. Be patient."

When the parents felt the instruction was sufficient, they would confer again. The girl's parents might say: "Our daughter is ready now. We have taught her all we can. Watch her behavior and if she does not do right, instruct her." The boy's parents replied: "You do the same for us. Our boy should know his duty but if he does not, you should complain."

The boy was then sent to spend his first four nights with his bride. He did not come in the daytime, "because he would be ashamed". He entered the hut after dark and left before morning. The pattern evidently demanded that a well-brought up girl should show fright at such a time for the admonitions and accounts of marriage always mention a terrified bride. One informant said she ran around the house until her mother caught her. Another hid in the large granary basket and had to de dragged out (27). This was done by her family, not by the bridegroom.

On the fifth day, the bridegroom having left before dawn, the bride's mother escorted her to her new home. The bride took nothing with her because it would not be good manners to do so until she was established, but her mother brought the groom's mother a small gift. The groom's family, if they were well-to-do people, gave the bride a buckskin dress and might also make a gift to her mother. It was not obligatory, merely out of good will, "when we had something". An informant thus described the formalities:

"He (the bridegroom) left our house in the morning and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present.... We stood out behind their house and waited to be invited in.... My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn and filled the carrying basket. She said to me, 'I have put the mat for you.' So I went into the house and my mother went home. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed and laid on it a waist and skirt and some beads." (26)

The young people lived in the house with the groom's parents until they had one or more children. They were still practically under tutelage; the boy working and hunting with his brothers under his father's direction, the girl doing the heavy housework for her mother-in-law, often with several sisters-in-law to help her.

As a privilege of the married state, the girl might now be seen at ceremonies and dances, particularly the puberty dance which

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters
582 are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative
[684] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met
[186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because
582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect
591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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teasing, but it is usually good-natured, and in time she may adopt the new way of speech.

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There is no elaborate wedding ceremony among the Papago. The old practice of the groom spending four nights with his bride in her home before taking her to their permanent dwelling has fallen out of use. Nowadays, under increasing white pressure, some couples in the eastern districts are married in a Roman Catholic or Presbyterian church, but in the western part of the Reservation such ceremonies are rare. Most marriages in the West and some in the East involve no ceremony and require only public recognition of an understanding between the individuals concerned and their families. The recently approved tribal code of laws (see chap. vii) requires a marriage license, a ceremony performed by a religious or other duly constituted official, and a certificate of marriage.

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There are many sex relations outside marriage, which may evoke gossip or criticism but do not cause the social ostracism of either party. Children of casual relationships are to be seen in many homes. If the mother is unmarried, she cares for such children in her own household; when she marries, she may take them with her to the new home or leave them behind to be cared for by her parents. No stigma is attached to these children, and criticism of their parents comes from the clergy and the more ardent church members.

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Residence of newly married couples is usually patrilocal. They may live in the same house with the groom's parents—in which case they often have a room of their own—or they may build a new home close by. If the groom's family is large and no more workers are needed to make a living for the group, the couple may break away, fence in a new field, and establish their own household. Although the new dwelling is usually close to the houses of the groom's father and brothers and everyone works together when necessary, the son's household is distinct from his father's and is more nearly like that of the average white family. Nowadays the trend is toward greater independence of young families. They frequently go for long or short periods to places where there is employment, but the husband's father's house is always home.

This is the prevailing pattern, but in the characteristically flexible Papago society the new couple may live with the wife's parents for some practical reason. Possibly there are more adults in the groom's household than in the bride's, and the help of the new couple is more valuable in her home. Perhaps the girl has no brothers to help with the crops or the cattle, or her brothers have left the Reservation. Whatever the reason for a man's joining his wife's family he assumes the responsibilities and status of a son, and the functioning of the household is not upset.

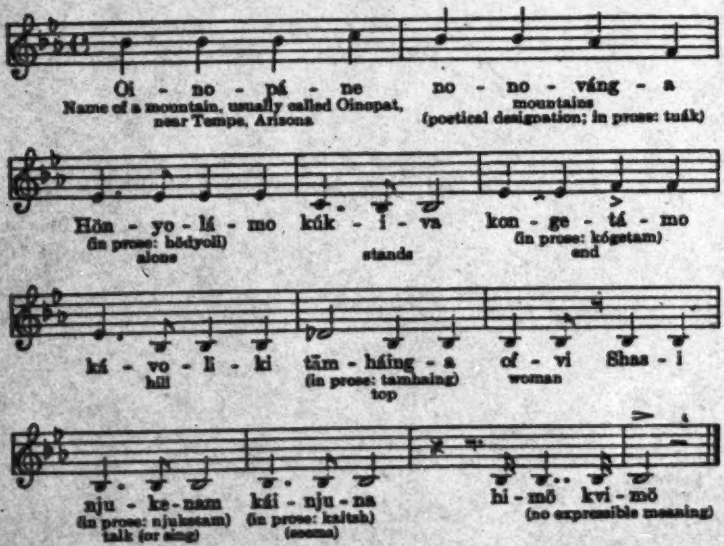
7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

self to the girl's house and stays there four nights. Her mother then takes her to the bridegroom's home and leaves her there. No services of the medicine-man are necessary; if they mutually agree to live as husband and

PIMA SONG

USED WHEN THE YOUNG GIRLS COME OF AGE

[533]


Oi - no - pá - ne
Name of a mountain, usually called Oinopat, near Tempe, Arizona
no - no - váng - a
mountains (poetical designation; in prose: tuñk)
Hŏn - yo - lí - mo
(in prose: hŏdyoli) alone
kúk - i - va
stands
kon - ge - tí - mo
(in prose: kógetam) end
kí - vo - li - ki
hill
tĭm - háing - a
(in prose: tamhaing) top
oi - vi
woman
Shas - i
nju - ke - nam
(in prose: njukstam) talk (or sing)
kái - nju - na
(in prose: kaituh) (enema)
hi - mŏ kvi - mŏ
(no expressible meaning)

This song may still be heard among the Papago, *e. g.*, at Ánekam rancheria in Santa Rosa valley, but it originated from the Pima.

wife, they remain in the house of the young man's father until the latter's death. The son may make a house for himself near by, but he helps his father in his work. If the girl does not like the boy, she may walk back to her parents. Conferences between the fathers will then ensue to try to adjust matters and, until recently, sometimes the